20¢ OCTOBER 10, 1949

New Republic

INDIA AND THE FUTURE

1. POINT FOUR AND 300 MILLION PEOPLE

AN EDITORIAL

2. NEHRU COMES TO AMERICA

By VINCENT SHEEAN

- **RIVERS & HARBORS LOBBY**

By BENTON J. STONG

- **HAROLD L. ICKES ON:**
  THE RUSSIAN A-BOMB

- **THE LOCKOUT IN STEEL**

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New Republic

EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

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MANAGING EDITOR: Jack Weeks

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler, J. Raymond Walsh, Harold Wolff

WASHINGTON BUREAU: Helen Fuller (Political Editor), Jean Begeman

DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts), Percy Winner (Foreign Affairs)

COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

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WASHINGTON WIRE

SOMETIMES WE SIGH as we sit down to our weekly stint. If this magazine were a book and our quota half the opening chapters, we couldn't begin to cover this most fascinating of all cities in this era. Take this fight now to block confirmation of Leland Olds to the Federal Power Commission. It's just a pinprick to things like the steel strike and the atom bomb, but it symbolizes the clash of two worlds. It's like a show. Olds is the man who made your and my gas and electric bills cheaper. He's been the sparkplug on the Commission for 10 years. Fundamentally he's as firm a believer in the American Way as Cal Coolidge, who was at Amherst with him. And the great utilities are gunning for him. Why?

Because in late years utilities and monopolists have opened a new line of attack—exemption from control. With "control" accepted in theory, there have been fights to exempt industry after industry, to cut the railroads and insurance companies loose from the anti-trust laws, to pass the tidelands oil-exemption bill, to take atomic energy from the people, and now the Kerr bill to exempt big gas producers from the Federal Power Commission. Olds is on trial before a Senate Commerce subcommittee on the charge of having defended the people.

What a subcommittee! It's been packed. They have even brought in Bricker and Capehart. If we were a defendant in Russia and saw such a mackerel-eyed bunch as that looking down at us from the bench we'd start writing confessions quick. Olds will get an adverse report from the subcommittee and probably from the full committee. The real fight may well come on the Senate floor. About that time we have a hunch the public will catch on to what's happening. If it doesn't, if Olds and what he stands for are rejected, we feel in our very bones the utilities will eventually rue the day. This sort of thing can well lead to public ownership of all basic natural resources.

Essentially the same principle is involved in the steel strike. The big New Deal Social Security Act was passed in 1937. It provided for contributory assessments of three percent each on workers and management. But business fought social security. Instead of letting the rates rise to the full amount, Congress, under business pressure, has acted to retain the original one-percent figure of the first year all this time. Failing to get security by legislation, the big unions have taken direct action demanding that management pay all costs. How many of the editorial writers who now criticize Phil Murray for striking did anything to push the federal security program? Conservative Harvard business professor Sumner Slichter needled steel executives at the last Iron and Steel Institute meeting: "Why did business fight social security when it was plain that millions of people needed it and wished it and when many concerns were providing pensions for their executives?" But United States Steel is acting on "principle."

Americans are trying to make mental adjustments to the fact that Russia has the atom secret. First reactions include the following: It doesn't immediately bring war closer; Moscow's too occupied with Tito while the USA has its own problem with sterling devaluation (which has postponed things but settled nothing). The USA underestimated Russia's technical ability—the kind of depreciation of an opponent that could lose wars. The US must now deal with the USSR as an equal in negotiations for atomic control. The Bomb is so terrible that its

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possession forces a review of all Soviet-American relations.

At home Congress will probably vote a 24-hour radar screen across the Arctic frontier; also a 70-group air force. Most people can't face the grim facts of the atom race, but here are some of them. It will require huge expenditures—domestic and foreign—and new taxes. The state will more and more support the economy. There won't be much left over for social welfare, but it won't be needed; there'll be full employment based on armaments (like Hitler's Germany). There'll probably be conscription—which Truman asked in 1947. Ultimately—well, most armament races have one conclusion. The alternative is to try to beat Russia in its own field of ideological warfare; ideas are still stronger than bombs. Eventually a balance of power might develop and an accommodation be reached based on greater confidence, but the chances seem none too rosy right now.

Notes. The GOP Sioux City, Iowa, farm conference was a flop admitted even by some leaders; all it showed was that the party has no farm plan of its own and opposes the Brannan Plan. . . . New York Communist headquarters strongly opposes having left-wing unions bolt the CIO, realizing that they face certain extinction, but they are going to be kicked out at the Cleveland convention October 31 anyway.

The quotation of the week came from GOP chairman Gabrielson declaring at Omaha that Truman timed his Russian atomic-explosion announcement politically "to grab the headlines from the GOP Farm Conference in Sioux City which was meeting at the time." Gabrielson, Go Blow Your Horn. . . . The chief Democratic embarrassment is the need for higher taxes in an election year with a thumping deficit now building; if the leaders can summon up the nerve, the prospect is that some current excise taxes will be cut, soak-the-rich taxes increased and the main operation postponed till after Election Day.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Displaced Millions

SIR: As you know, the American Friends Service Committee recently voiced a deep concern for the fate of the 12 million refugees [deported as Germans from neighboring states] in Germany today. The real implications of this tragedy can be fully understood only if we picture the overwhelming drama behind the figures pertaining to these masses of uprooted peoples. . . .

Until the rise of the Third Reich there was little to distinguish these *Volksdeutsche* refugees from the people among whom they were then living. Their German origin was, for most of them, a question of folklore and culture that reached back in many cases more than a century. . . .

Suddenly, by order of a power then far beyond their control, they found themselves set apart from their neighbors and fellow citizens and described as members of the Greater Germany. Although some took advantage of this selection, there were others who allowed it to have little effect on their personal lives. They accepted their new status as an affair of state, as inevitable as the German occupation.

The overwhelming disaster that overtook these people at the end of the war was impersonal and impartial in its punishment. New settlers and third-generation inhabitants, enthusiastic citizens of the Greater Germany, and those who had resented differentiation from their friends and neighbors, all suffered the same fate. The damage had been done and the memory of minorities was a bitter one for the Central European countries; so from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and the former German territories now under Polish administration, they poured into Germany. Voluntarily or forcibly, 12 million people of ethnic German origin left their homes and were crowded into the four zones of occupation, none of which were equipped to receive them.

Now, nearly four years after the end of the war, they are still waiting—some of them in dreary camps; some "temporarily accommodated" in empty halls, factories or cinemas; some billeted on the already overcrowded local families; all of them lacking the fundamental things that make life worth living. . . .

There is a way out for these refugees. The problem could be solved if it were shared by other countries, particularly those governments charged with the control of Germany. . . . It is perhaps a good thing that our imaginations cannot picture the reality of tragedies in which we personally are not involved. This dispensation carries with it, however, the responsibility to be aware of and to interest ourselves in the suffering of those less fortunate. We are called on to do this now, for while we are going about our daily business, another hopeless day is also passing for these Displaced Millions.

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary,
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pa.

Defense of Minton

SIR: The writer of the article, "Mr. Justice Minton" (September 26) is guilty of rendering a verdict contrary to the weight of the evidence when he implies that Sherman Minton is merely a political opportunist. . . . Fortunately Mr. Ickes helps put matters right in the same issue by stating the facts as to Mr. Minton's caliber. . . .

During the 1947-1948 term of court, I was Judge Minton's Law Clerk in Chicago. . . . I testify that Sherman Minton has a unique grasp of the democratic ideal and a keen appreciation of the difficulties which beset the people in the fulfillment of this ideal. . . . We in Indiana have associated him with the people's cause since he first stepped into the ring in 1920. As both an example of your writer's lack of information and a demonstration of Minton's refusal to compromise for political advantage, I call your attention to the fact that Minton was not defeated in Indiana in 1940 because of a Willkie sweep. We elected a Democratic Governor in that campaign and Minton was defeated because he was one of the original leaders in the fight to scrap isolationism and had always voted in the Senate and spoken frequently for preparedness. . . .

Indianapolis, Ind. ALAN T. NOLAN

Time to Retire?

SIR: Henry Wallace has apparently rejected the bid of Marcantonio and his cohorts to place Wallace's name on the ballot in the November election, with the aim of destroying ex-Governor Lehman's chances of becoming a powerful addition to the minority of liberals in the Senate. . . .

In view of Mr. Wallace's growing break with the party liners in regard to civil liberties (as pointed out by Gus Tyler in the *New Republic* of September 12) and on other issues, is it not time for him to separate himself completely from the totalitarian Left? . . .

Chicago, Ill. SAMUEL LASNICK

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THE MEANING OF THE LOCKOUT IN STEEL

ENLIGHTENED PUBLIC OPINION alone can settle the dispute in the steel industry. Its judgment can only be that in this dispute justice is on the side of the steel workers.

There is only one fair standard for judging an industrial dispute in America: Given the general economic outlook, the level of production, and the industry's price policies, is the relationship of wages and profits just, or, after full allowances for depreciation, expansion, and fair profits, have the workers earned the right to a better living?

By this standard, the steel companies have followed a selfish and shortsighted policy, and the steel workers have been fully justified in seeking a substantial wage increase.

In 1948, benefiting from increased steel prices and a two-year wage contract, the 19 leading steel companies earned record net profits of $624 million. In 1949 the industry's raw materials, scrap iron, fuel oil and zinc fell in price by $4 for each ton of steel. Yet steel prices were held at peak levels, while production continued at full capacity. The industry took in net profits at the rate of 26 percent on investment, a billion dollars a year.

The steel workers maintained that at 70 percent of capacity, the industry could afford a 35-cents-an-hour wage increase and still earn net profits at the high levels of 1946. The union called for total increases in wages and pensions of 30 cents. The industry, in effect, refused to bargain. At a time of falling demand, the industry held prices up, cut production sharply, and prepared for a fight.

The Fact-Finding Board appointed by the President held its hearings and presented its report. It was a political report. It summed up the dispute and gave two-thirds of the difference to the corporations, one-third to the union. Yet it failed in its political purpose of preventing a stoppage, and it wove an economic theory that will bedevil collective bargaining for years to come.

First, the Board declares that the standard for judging the dispute is not the wage-price-profit relationship of the industry, but the comparative living standards of steel workers and other workers. This theory, proclaimed in the name of protecting private enterprise, in fact presupposes a uniform national wage policy maintained by government intervention throughout all industry.

Second, the Board denied a wage increase in order to grant a pension. Here it chided the union's economists for seeking higher wages as the way to cure both inflation and depression (as if the corporations do not maintain that lower labor costs are not the answer to depression and inflation), and it chided the "neo-Keynesians" for forgetting that increased wages meant greater costs, as well as greater purchasing power (as if pension payments do not also mean greater costs). It laid aside the general economic necessity of getting more cash into consumers' hands to maintain the present economic upturn, in favor of deferred payments to consumers at a future time of unknown economic conditions.

In fact, the demand for pensions was the weaker part of the union's case. It was prompted by union politics as much as by good economics. It was entirely understandable in the light of the refusal of Congress to enact adequate social security. And yet there is no adequate security for the industrial worker in industry pension plans.

For the individual worker, industrywide pensions destroy the mobility and freedom which have contributed so much to our present living standards. For the nation, industrywide pensions hold down the tremendous technological changes, which in the lifetime of any worker produce major shifts between one industry and another. Industrywide pensions are not working well. The 10-cents-a-ton royalty in coal has been raised to 20 cents and still few pensions are available. It is on its way up to 40 cents a ton. Similarly in steel, the union's demand for six cents an hour, paid by the corporations, means pensions of about $120 a year. Naturally the unions will concentrate on raising the contributions of the corporations. But those objectives reduce the pressure of labor for over-all social security, and divide union members from non-union labor and white-collar workers who have no security.

Still more remote from the real interest of both sides is the issue whether pensions should be contributory

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or non-contributory. It is in the interest of the corporation that they should be non-contributory so that it can control the pension payments, cutting down labor turnover and gaining an added grip on the workers. It is in the union's interest that they should be contributory so that the union can participate in the pension plan. For this reason the present dispute is superficially illogical. The real issue is whether the union contribution should be paid out of a wage increase or out of present wages—that is, as Murray says, by a wage cut.

When the Board issued its report, granting the pension plan of the union and denying the wage increase, the press hailed its decision as a masterpiece of moderation. When the steel companies refused to accept the findings, the press discovered that the decision was extravagant after all. Yet public opinion must make itself felt.

For there is little the government can do. The Taft-Hartley Act has been demonstrated, once again, to be entirely useless. The union deferred its strike deadline 72 days and the government cannot issue an injunction against the party to the dispute which accepted its recommendations. On the other hand, the corporations and the union are too close together for the government to move in and take over the plants.

The Board recognized the justice of a wage increase *if the industry did not cut steel prices.* It failed to realize that its decision created immense pressures against a wage increase and none at all in favor of cutting steel prices.

There is little likelihood of a cut in steel prices, and every justification for a rise in steel wages. And yet between the muddleheadedness of the Board and the intransigence of the corporations, the dispute is likely to be deadlocked over an irrelevant issue and in a useless test of strength in which both sides are trapped defending positions that do not correspond to their best interests. An early settlement is necessary, providing for a substantial wage increase alone, or, if that isn't possible, a smaller increase, of which a part will be earmarked as a contribution to the pension plan.

INDIA AND POINT FOUR

DEMOCRACY CANNOT SURVIVE in the West unless it develops in Asia. It cannot develop in Asia without our support. A rising standard of living is Asia's one means to democracy. A declining standard of living is Asia's prospect today.

India is the truest and most important example of this new danger. "Rapid progress in India in the next five years is quite impossible," according to the *Eastern Economist.* "We will need to run as fast as we can in order to remain where we are."

India has avoided the chaos that many believed would follow independence. She is pressing ahead with a democratic constitution that guarantees universal suffrage to a people of whom one in six can read or write. She has shown great courage and vision. And yet, so far, she has solved her political problems at the expense of economic realities. As in China 20 years ago, the gap is widening between the administrative possibilities of the central government and its economic tasks.

As a subject people, the Indians naturally blamed the British for all their troubles. They fought for independence as the means to a better life. They identified independence with the higher living standards which greater productivity alone can bring. They linked independence with huge public enterprises whose realization—as in Russia—is in fact made impossible for years by a shortage of skilled labor alone. Inevitably productivity and living standards have tended to fall with the loss of British and Moslem technicians. In the effort to realize the benefits of independence without cost, India has spent most of her sterling balances in unproductive ways. Now, with her reserves diminished, her adverse trade balance is rising. India's population is increasing by four and a half million a year—and her production has fallen.

Agricultural production in India is seven percent below prewar levels. Industrial production is 15 percent over 1939, but well below the wartime years. India's immense savings are hoarded. Her prices and costs are high. Her industrialists are barely investing enough to replace aging capital. The federation of India—Britain's major contribution—has been destroyed by partition. In addition to violence and mass migration, partition has led to an armaments race that is draining off half of the government's revenues and a significant part of its overseas purchases. Partition has split the rich rice and wheat lands of the Punjab. It has torn two interdependent economies apart.

These difficulties are more than India's internal concern. They shake the sterling system. They delay Britain's progress and the unification of Europe. Last year India drew £160 million from her sterling balances in London. This drain and India's deficits in Europe made it harder for Britain to free her trade and to support the integration of European economies. At the same time India's dollar deficit was an important cause of

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the recent sterling crisis. Last year India spent $600 million in hard currencies and earned $390 million. This year her dollar deficit may be much larger. She has been granted drawing rights of £100 million on her own sterling balances in London. Now, as a full member of the sterling system, she is entitled to additional drawing rights on the general sterling reserves. Like all commonwealth countries, India has agreed to cut her dollar imports by 25 percent. The agreement has not yet been carried out.

Yet there is nothing wrong with India's trading deficit. It is natural and proper for a developing nation. What is wrong—and dangerous—is that, for lack of credits, the weight of the deficit should fall on the overburdened sterling system. Britain has insisted on repaying all the sterling balances and absorbing the sterling losses on India's account. Even with devaluation it is doubtful that she will succeed. The answer for America is not to force down British living standards or to stand idle while India's living standards decline, but to assume a larger share of the responsibility for India's economic development. We certainly cannot hold valueless the faith in democracy of three hundred million people.

Under these circumstances, Jawaharlal Nehru is coming to America. He has scheduled no serious discussions during his four days in Washington. As the head of a new nation, larger than America in numbers, he naturally does not wish to seem to come hat in hand on his first visit. Yet it is important, for all Asia, that his visit should at least prepare the way for a future accord. It is up to America to take the initiative.

India must rapidly increase her productivity in order to maintain present living standards. Increased productivity means greater capital imports, to equip millions of penniless peasants with hand tools, and to complete thousands of minor irrigation projects to make secure the two-thirds of her land which today is without any assured water supply. India cannot finance these developments from her own resources. Her ability to import capital has been reduced by the necessity of importing more and more food. Imports of food are costing India $400 million a year.

One way America can help is by the transfer of our accumulating surplus of wheat, cotton and other agricultural products. Yet the Commodity Credit Corporation is only authorized to trade surpluses for needed raw materials. It can barter additional wheat for additional manganese, but India is already exporting all the manganese she can produce. The grant of wheat, which should be given, would require Congressional authorization. Congress condemns the Administration for its failures in Asia; the Administration assumes that Congress will not authorize a program to help Asia.

A second source of credit for India is the World Bank. Its first loan of $34 million for railway development will help India to increase exports. A second loan, to reclaim one million acres of waste land, will have no immediate effect. A third loan of $31 million for power development will be made soon. Yet India's needs are far larger, and although the Bank seeks to dominate India's public borrowing, its method is to seek security in the success of each separate project rather than in the balance of payments and general solvency of the entire nation which is the real problem today.

This over-all problem compels an over-all approach —the bold new approach of the Point Four program. India is the heart of that program and the best example of why its rapid expansion is an urgent economic and political necessity.

Who would guess it, judging by our actions? Nine months ago the President called for legislation. The Secretariat of the UN and the specialized agencies drafted as detailed a program as they could for technical assistance. The General Assembly is waiting to approve the program. The Russians are not objecting —just the Republicans. At present our contribution of $45 million is before a Congressional committee, suffering the attacks of Republican leaders as another give-away program. Actually our contribution is only one-half of the program and less than one-half of the technical aid we are extending to other nations.

The President has said that the Point Four appropriation is "must" legislation. Its passage during Nehru's visit would be some indication that our concern for democracy in Asia goes deeper than oratory.

Technical assistance will lead to an eventual rise in living standards in Asia. It cannot prevent their early decline. Only the large-scale investment projected in the second part of the Point Four program can hold Asia's living standards at present levels.

Here, the government has thrown the problem to private industry and industry has thrown it right back again. The government maintains that the main volume of investment should be by industry. Our industrialists are agreeable—if the government will ram down the throats of undeveloped nations treaties that place American business above the law.

Yet no amount of guarantees of profitability and convertibility and special treatment will provide private investment overseas in the volume that is necessary. One reason is that there are not many markets, even in Asia, that will provide the 30-percent return that Americans expect in overseas investments. As long

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as industry can earn 15 to 20 percent in net profits at home, it has no inducement to invest abroad. Even if private capital were available it could only follow public capital. Long before private investment is possible, schools, roads, hospitals, railways, docks, have to be built. And with capital markets evaporating in America, government loans can alone provide funds for basic development.

These loans are not charity, but enlightened self-interest. America's present export surplus, on which our prosperity rests, is $6 billion a year.

At the very best, it may be cut to $3 billion when ECA ends. Of the remaining $3 billion, private enterprise is taking less than $400 million a year, or 13 percent. The Food and Agriculture Organization has declared that only public investment by America can prevent a maturing world economic crisis. In the absence of a greatly increased program by the World Bank or an ECA program for Asia, there is only one way to save Point Four and its objective: expansion of the power of the US Government to lend abroad.

Our international loan authority, the Export-Import Bank, is authorized to lend a total of one billion dollars: that is one-half of one percent of our yearly income, and just two times India's yearly needs. Democracy is eroding in Asia. If we intend to contribute more than post-mortems, we shall raise the capital of the Export-Import Bank tenfold.

The third editorial on a new policy for Asia, dealing with Japan and the problem of security, will be published in an early issue.—THE EDITORS

THE WEEK

BRITAIN'S COMING ELECTION

It now seems likely that a general election will be held in Great Britain this fall. A test at the polls is compulsory not later than next July, the end of five years of the Labour Government, and can also take place at any time if the government loses a vote of confidence in the House of Commons or asks the King for the dissolution of Parliament.

The third of these courses is the one expected. The Labour Party will certainly call the election at the moment considered most advantageous to itself, which is likely to be now rather than later. Devaluation is at best only a temporary expedient; its effects are most pronounced at the beginning, and then wear off. If internal prices go up—and some of them have already done so—the workers will be increasingly restive about having their wages frozen, though any general increase would send prices even higher, make exports more difficult and partly offset the benefits from cutting the value of the pound. Opinion in America seems to be hardening against further aid to Europe, including Great Britain, except in military terms.

Some informed observers believe that the Conservatives are working toward a coalition government after the election, no matter who wins it, and Churchill's speech in the House on September 28 appeared to support this theory. While he was very hard on Sir Stafford Cripps personally, he accepted devaluation, thus giving away the Tories' strongest issue. He endorsed the "welfare state," as other Conservatives have been doing, in varying degrees, for several years. He pleaded only that the Labour Party should freeze the nationalization plan at its present level, and should campaign on a moderate program.

Quite possibly some members of the Labour Party may share the desire for a coalition government, though of course they will not say so. Such a government is standard procedure in wartime; and Britain's problems, now and in the visible future, are almost as serious as those of war.

STUMBLEFOOT ELEPHANT

SIOUX CITY (NR correspondent)

With the assistance of Guy George Gabrielson and other eager helpers, the GOP managed to stub practically all its toes on its first step to recapture the Midwestern farm vote.

Led by Gabrielson, Republican agricultural leaders descended on Sioux City September 23 for a farm conference. They persistently protested that they didn't have any farm plan—with GOP farm-plan-author George D. Aiken (Vt.) sitting right in the middle of the platform! First blunder.

In a Congressional type of hearing they asked farmers to tell them what the folks at the grass-roots want, and then permitted the National Farmers' Union a full hour of testimony in which to advise them that they ought to go for the Brannan Plan. The Grange, the Farm Bureau and the National Council of Farmer Co-ops followed with long and tedious speeches.

Even the GOP-fervid press found nothing to headline but "clashes," "confusion," "protests," "disagreement." The peak crowd was 700, comparing unfavorably with the 4,000 at a previous Democratic farm conference in Des Moines. The result was a bad press.

Representative Clifford R. Hope (Kans.), conference keynoter, devoted half his time to assailing labor. Slowed down by Taft-Hartley, labor had instigated the Brannan Plan to get a pay raise via cheap food, he contended. Governor Beardsley of Iowa and an

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Iowa Farm Bureau witness subsequently felt obliged to deplore attacks on labor. In their state, CIO, AFL and farmers united last fall to elect GOP Beardsley and they didn't want labor offended. However, the damage had been done.

A Monona County (Iowa) farm group came to the meeting to file a resolution for lower tariffs to encourage balanced world trade. They remained to hear Senator Kenneth Wherry (Nebr.) whoop it up at the night meeting for higher tariffs.

The Congressional group conducting the hearings took two lines about the Brannan Plan: (a) Won't it bankrupt us? and (b) Aren't Senator Milt Young's (N. D.) proposed 90-percent minimum price supports for basics when controls are in effect (to be offered as an amendment to the Anderson bill) even higher and better than Brannan's? Another blunder.

The conference ended without any resolutions or statement of policy. Participants heard everything advocated from the Brannan Plan to absolutely nothing at all. Two Kansas witnesses protested that *any* farm program would be "unmoral." 'Tis wrong to rob Taxpayer Peter to pay Farmer Paul, said they. There were zero-percenters, 60-percenters, 75-percenters, 90-percenters, 100-percenters, one-pricers, two-pricers and private enterprisers. The participants heard all this and then saw the GOP leaders pack up and silently steal away.

REWARD FOR SERVICE

The Senate fight on Leland Olds, nominated for another term on the Federal Power Commission where he has served 10 years, has reached the mud-slinging stage. The subcommittee of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee has been so hostile to Olds that it resembles the House Un-American Activities Committee under J. Parnell Thomas.

Olds has been a controversial figure in Washington ever since he was first appointed to the FPC in 1939 by President Roosevelt. Because of his vigorous and successful campaign to make the Federal Power Act and the Natural Gas Act work for the benefit of the public, Olds has been the subject of bitter attack by the oil and gas interests and their Congressional spokesmen. It is estimated that during his tenure the FPC has saved the consumers hundreds of millions of dollars, while allowing investors to continue to prosper. Olds's influence on the Commission has been felt in the Supreme Court precedents fixing actual net investment (and not theoretical replacement cost) as the base for determining electric rates, and in the coöperative working arrangements under the law to enable state and city utility commissions to borrow competent federal experts to help handle utility requests for rate increases.

Olds's vigorous action to enforce utility regulation and, more recently, his open opposition to the Kerr bill, which would exempt producers of natural gas from federal rate regulation, have made him the target of the big utility companies. The subcommittee considering Olds's appointment is heavily weighted against him; not one of the five members who had opposed the Kerr bill were placed on it. Instead, Chairman Ed Johnson (D, Colo.) appointed himself and the six other Senators who had voted for the Kerr bill to cross-examine Olds, a meaningless procedure since his qualifications have been a matter of record for two previous terms.

Senator Clyde Reed (R, Kans.) charged that Olds "is a full-fledged, first-class Communist." The basis for his statement was a series of articles Olds admitted writing, 20 years ago, for the Federated Press, a labor news service. Olds's FPC record was of so little interest to committee members that they scarcely listened to his prepared testimony.

It has become obvious that Olds's offense is his unbroken record of zeal in the protection of oil and gas consumers. Behind the attempt to block his confirmation is Senator Robert S. Kerr (D, Okla.), whose bill amending the Natural Gas Act would nullify a 1947 Supreme Court ruling that the FPC has both the right and the obligation to regulate the production and distribution of natural gas. A similar bill, introduced by Oren Harris (D, Ark.) has already passed the House, and both bills are pending on the Senate calendar. One of the wealthiest men in the Senate, Kerr controls the Kerr-McGee Company, a large natural-gas producer, and has close connections with the Phillips Petroleum Company, one of the five largest producers. He has made no secret of his aim to unseat Olds and amend the Natural Gas Act to the liking of the Big Five.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

It was in Italy early last year that the Communists suffered their worst setback in Western Europe since the end of the war. And it is again in Italy at the end of the present year that they are talking biggest in a vain effort to hide the fact that everywhere in Western Europe they are now reduced to fighting rear-guard actions against their worst enemies—rightist parties with strong clerical leanings.

In a speech in the Italian industrial town of Terni, the leader of the Italian Communists, Palmiro Togliatti, announced boldly that the clerical Christian Democrats who now rule the country should have no illusions. He said:

> Their days are numbered. All over the world the days are numbered of a regime founded on the exploitation of those who live by their own labor; of a regime based on dictatorship, tyranny and small groups of privileged persons. The days are numbered of an Italy in which the economies and the riches must remain only in the hands of such groups; of an Italy in which land is denied to the peasants, of an Italy which refuses to modernize itself.

At once the official newspaper of the Christian Democrats, the *Popolo*, picked up the challenge. It wrote:

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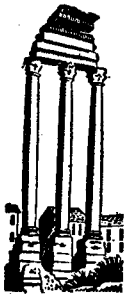
If Togliatti was referring to an effort to carry out certain non-electoral practices, it is quite true that days are numbered, but not for the Christian Democracy and for the democratic government; in that case the days are numbered for the Italian Communist Party and for those who, like Togliatti, direct it in the service of Soviet bolshevism.

All the Communist chief dared say in reply was that this "threat" to "suppress" him and his party revealed the "guilty conscience" of the Christian Democrats, who would not have been able to come to power without the support "of the great American capitalists."

The political blunder of Togliatti in the Terni speech is likely to cost the whole Italian political Left, including the anti-Communist Socialists and Liberals, whatever little chance it might have had of resisting the present government's increasingly reactionary tendencies in the field of labor and social legislation. By next spring, most of the small vestiges of anything resembling a liberal Third Force will probably have been removed from the field of practical politics. For in the name of facing Togliatti's quite empty boldness, the reactionaries grouped around Minister of the Interior Mario Scelba will justify their demolition of the whole political Left.



The Terni speech was not the first serious mistake of the man who is the Moscow Politburo's Number One leader in Western Europe (indeed in all of non-Soviet Europe since Marshal Tito became the Kremlin's public enemy). In the period immediately after the war, he chose for reasons of immediate tactical necessity to oppose the Socialists and liberals, and to side with the clerical *Democristiani* in confirming the 1929 Lateran Pact arranged by Jesuit Father Tacchi Venturi between Benito Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri.

It was this confirmation that brought the Catholic Church beyond its spiritual mission in Italy and directly into the political life of the new Italian Republic. And it was the success of the clericals in Italy that paved the way for other successes for similar parties elsewhere in Western Europe—the MRP in France, Van Zeeland's Social Christians in Belgium, Adenauer's Christian Democrats in Western Germany. Furthermore, it was these successes which nullified the chances for liberal orientations in Western European federalism by strengthening the position of the tories in the Council of Europe, headed by Britain's Churchill.

In the historical perspective, Togliatti's postwar mistake may turn out to be almost as costly to the Left as was the German Communist leader Thaelmann's prewar mistake in siding with the extreme Right for reasons of immediate tactical necessity, and hence helping Hitler's rise to power.

Moscow squeezed every drop of propaganda out of the courtesy call Admiral Richard Connolly paid on Spain's Francisco Franco, and out of the visit of the group of American Congressmen to the Caudillo. Communist newspapers in the Western European countries said that the admiral, who commands the American naval forces in the Eastern Atlantic, was to become boss of the Mediterranean since, by the Atlantic Pact, the ocean had become America's Mare Nostrum and the Eastern Atlantic now meant the Mediterranean Sea.

But some of the peoples who live on islands in the Mediterranean, and farther to the south in Africa, were far from worried about American imperialism. On the contrary, they wished the Communist version of Connolly's mission were accurate.

The Maltese, who have been having trouble with the English, delivered an ultimatum to the Colonial Office in London threatening that they would hold a referendum to authorize the island's government to ask American help. In exchange for this help, they said, they would offer bases to the Americans. Indeed, if necessary they would give the whole island to the US as a kind of protectorate.

In Sicily, the separatists trotted out once more the plan first drawn up during the war to make the island independent of Italy as a protectorate of the United States, even as a forty-ninth state.

And in Ethiopia, the Habte-Wold family, which runs the affairs of state on behalf of the Negus, went looking to Americans for help. John Spencer of the State Department is personal adviser to Foreign Minister Aklilu Habte-Wold. Jack Bennett and Louis A. Mervey, also Americans, are governor and vice-governor of the Ethiopian State Bank, working with Makonnen Habte-Wold, brother of the Foreign Minister and himself Minister of Finance. Other Americans are advisers to a third brother, Akalawork Habte-Wold, the Minister of Education, and to a nephew, Mekbeb Daptey, the Director General of Transportation. Still others help the Finance Minister double as chief of propaganda services.

Thanks to this tieup, Ethiopian civil aviation has been turned out to TWA, which organized the Ethiopian Air Line with American materiel and personnel. And Sinclair Oil has been given a concession for fifty years to exploit the potentially rich fields in the Ogaden area.

Americans might have better reason to enjoy the popularity they enjoy (despite Communist warnings) in these lands to the south of Europe if their well-wishers were closer to American standards. But the Habte-Wolds run Ethiopia in the manner of czarist autocrats. And the Sicilian separatists recently hailed as the "purest hero" of their cause the bandit Salvatore Giuliano, whose gangsters have already murdered more than 200 men and women.

If there are American weapons the Mediterraneans and Africans need to fear, they are not (despite the Communists) the guns of Admiral Connolly's fleet; they are the guns used by Giuliano, also American; and those used by the Italian police ineffectually fighting Giuliano, bought with American ECA money that should be used to reform the social and economic evils that produce the Giulianos.

PERCY WINNER

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PRIME MINISTER NEHRU

by Vincent Sheean

THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, who is to arrive in the United States for the first time on October 11, is one of the remarkable personalities of the century. His country is the largest political unit, in numbers of persons governed, now existing; it is at a crucial intersection both of geography and of the flow of ideas; it is the largest holder of sterling balances; it is the land-mass which most requires development and promises most return from such development. Quite aside from India's contributions in the past, these strictly practical contemporary considerations would give enormous importance to a visit from its Prime Minister.

But Jawaharlal Nehru, who has been Prime Minister for two years and a half, has been a remarkable personality for decades. Readers in this country know, from his autobiography and from the later work called *The Discovery of India*, that his mind has an altogether different quality from that usually found among holders of even very high office. Newspaper readers for thirty years have followed from afar, sometimes with incomprehension but usually with sympathy, the events of his long struggle as a leader of the masses for the independence of India. It has been possible to discern an evolution in his mode of thought and action which should be instructive to men at all times and places, from the fiery vehemence of the 1920's to the controlled and responsible conduct of government today. The fires are still there, without a doubt, but they are ruled by an intelligence which appreciates to the full how much all Indian life (including such things as the supplies of basic food) must in this phase depend upon the acts, the words and even the attitudes of men in power.

The central themes of Nehru's thinking are clear. They are to be read in his books, his public speeches and his deeds. He has at all times opposed colonial imperialism, as he does today, and it can hardly be questioned that he has played a great part in bringing it to the last gasp not only in India but throughout Asia.

In this respect he stands as a champion of all the Asian peoples, and even those with whom he is embroiled in dispute at present (such as the Pakistan leaders) would not deny it. At times in the past—less sharply at present—he has blended his anti-imperialism with a social program hardly to be distinguished from straight socialism. His late opponent, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, used to say that he was "from Benares by way of Moscow." This was, of course, a forensic exaggeration; Nehru has little indeed to do with Benares and it is twenty years and more since he visited Moscow.

The kernel of truth contained in the exaggeration is this: Nehru, although completely emancipated, was born a Brahmin, and there is something unconsciously, irrepressibly, irretrievably aristocratic about his personality. His Western education and his sense of justice have led him, for years past, into beliefs involving the broadest kind of social democracy, which naturally brought him (1927) to a visit to Moscow. Not to be interested in what the Bolsheviks were doing, in the 1920's as now, would be imbecile on the part of any public man. But his socialism (which is in any case his own and not that of the Indian National Congress) has never fallen under Communist domination or even influence. At the present moment he has not hesitated to imprison some thousands of Communists in India, not for their ideas or beliefs, but because they tried to disrupt the railroad system and imperil the food supply of hundreds of millions of people.

Nehru is thus, by most standards, a "man of the Left" in just about the same sense that Franklin Roosevelt was a man of the Left. In government he has followed the principle Roosevelt so insisted upon, that first things should come first, and in the case of India the very first of all things is food for the masses. This has not interfered with the formulation of great schemes for flood control, water power, land reclamation and universal education, upon which beginnings have been made. The new Indian government has, in the two and a half years of existence, had grueling difficulties, of which the greatest and most persistent has been the dislocation of many millions (about ten in all) of the population, Hindus from Pakistan taking refuge in India, Moslems from India taking refuge in Pakistan. Against this terrible situation Nehru's long-term solution has been kept steadily in mind, and that is the creation of a secular state in which these differences will not be recognized. Again in this case (as with electrification, education, etc.) long-term objectives sometimes are obscured by short-term necessities, but they are never forgotten.

The American public is familiar with Nehru's ap-

Vincent Sheean, well-known foreign correspondent and author, has written many books. His most recent, Lead, Kindly Light, dealing with Gandhi, was a Book-of-the-Month Club selection.

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pearance through innumerable photographs published here for three decades—the fine, sensitive face, the white cap of the Indian National Congress (the "Gandhi cap"), the uplifted head and hand. Most of the photographs seen here seem to have been taken in characteristic attitudes while Nehru was speaking to a public audience. He is, so far as I know, about the most indefatigable public speaker in existence. I followed him through one crowded day on his visit to Calcutta last January, and he made nine speeches between breakfast and dinner. In India he uses English or Hindi, depending on his audience, and sometimes in the same speech he uses first one and then the other. The language problem in India is such that in almost any audience there will be some persons—in some areas a majority—who understand English considerably better than they do Hindi.

Nehru himself had to learn Hindustani-Urdu, his mother-tongue, all over again when he returned to India after his years at Harrow and Cambridge. English had become the language of his habitual speech and thought. Since then a process has been going on by which Urdu becomes more Persianized and Hindustani (in its form as Hindi) more Sanskritized, so that what was once almost a national language is forking off into two quite different variants. This is part of the general "fissiparous" (Gandhi's word) tendency, to which we owe the present existence of Pakistan with Urdu as a national language, and India with Hindi in that position. The language of the parliament, the courts, many newspapers and all higher education is still, however, more likely to be English than anything else. (This seems worth mentioning because the notion is widespread in America that Indians do not speak English; Americans are surprised to hear that the whole National Congress movement used English as its working language; and my Indian friends, to many of whom English is as familiar as it is to me, are constantly being "congratulated" on the use of a tongue they have known all their lives.)

Readers of Nehru's books know how forbearing he always has been toward those whom history had placed in the position of enemies to the Indian National Congress, *i.e.*, the British. It was, of course, a leading Gandhian principle that the enemy should be treated with courtesy at all times, always being notified in advance of moves to be taken, and to be conciliated with friendliness whenever possible. In Nehru's own case, since his formative years had been spent in England, actual bitterness was probably impossible because he understood the British too well. They kept him in jail, off and on, for a matter of nine years, and it requires a certain largeness of spirit on the part of any man to overlook this, but he did overlook it. In fact he is sometimes quoted as saying that he got more work done, in the way of reading and writing, in jail than anywhere else. It was in jail that he learned (out of a book) those few simple physical exercises which he still performs every day, which have helped his body to withstand the stresses and fatigues of his extraordinary position.

And it is extraordinary. Nehru is not only Prime Minister; in a very real sense he is the essential strength, the apex of the popular pyramid, in the Indian government. He has able assistance from the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, with whom he probably does not see eye to eye in social and economic matters; between them they make a strong combination. But it is Nehru who possesses the capacity, even in a phase of anti-climax, of arousing the enthusiasm of the masses so that grievances are forgotten and political differences obliterated. It is done partly by personality, partly by legend, and in great part by the gift of unconscious bravery. He apparently thinks nothing of exposing himself in an open car in the midst of ungovernable millions of people up and down the streets of Calcutta, the most disaffected and turbulent great city (as it always has been) in India. The security police are in a constant state of agitation about him, but he seems long ago to have abandoned any worries about his own safety.

There is one further aspect of Nehru's historic activity which has not yet fully come into the public consciousness, but which I believe to be on the eve of fulfillment. That is, what he can do for the world of which India is a part. As is well known, he is the political heir of Gandhi, and in spite of the great and obvious differences between them as personalities, this heritage is not to be taken lightly. It seems likely to me that the conditions now obtaining—not only materially but psychologically—in this gathering twilight have, independently of human volition, placed India in a central place. It is now a kind of heartland, as its geographical shape, oddly enough, prefigures. Its future involves the future of the whole body. I believe Nehru knows this—I am only guessing; he has never said so to me—and that he is prepared to do whatever he can. There is a sort of valiant and determined synthesis in

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his conduct of public affairs, which is matched by a sort of intellectual scorn for the sterility of logical excess.

It would be easy to show—as the Pakistan leaders have shown—that the principle of "accession to India," which governs Nehru's formal statements on Kashmir, would have led to exactly opposite results in the cases of Hyderabad and Junagadh. This accession principle is, of course, merely formal; if you proceed to the reality underlying all such legal arguments, the fact is that no modern state could long endure the existence of a hostile, medieval autocracy like Hyderabad in its very middle. Equally no modern state, especially in a time of exacerbated emotion, could sit idly by while its nationals were murdered and despoiled by tribal raiders on its very borders. It is true that formal logic cannot equalize these three actions (Kashmir, Hyderabad, Junagadh), but it is also true that the stern necessities of holding a new-born state together could not permit such disintegration to proceed.

The same sense of reality limits Nehru's international activity to what, at a given time and in front of a given situation, he can actually do. The Delhi Conference of the independent countries of Asia, last January, is a case in point: it caused great apprehension in the foreign offices, but it was so skillfully managed and indeed circumscribed that it achieved its objective without unduly rocking the boat.

Such skill and sensitivity to the currents of feeling are rare. When they are accompanied by what I believe to be Nehru's supreme desire for peace in the world, there exists the possibility of peace. Blessed are the peacemakers, especially when they know what can and cannot be done.

THE RIVERS & HARBORS LOBBY

by Benton J. Stong

IF CONGRESSIONAL lobby investigators go into the rivers and harbors lobby, as has been suggested, they will find themselves in a field that has long been protected from prying eyes by Congressional courtesy. Members must never suggest anything but the loftiest motives and actions on the part of fellow members.

When the door is opened on the rivers and harbors lobby there will be found, out in the front reception room, Senator John McClellan (D, Ark.), Senator Kenneth Wherry (R, Nebr.), Representative Will Whittington (D, Miss.) and Representative Francis Case (R, S. D.), flanked by ten or a dozen additional members of Congress from both parties. The four named are the president and vice-presidents of the National Rivers & Harbors Congress, an organization that meets annually, maintains a registered lobbyist, operates like a pork barrel and makes the Five Percenters look like a bunch of penny-ante players. NR&HC doesn't just claim influence in Washington. It claims "semi-official" status.

If the investigators end their inquiry with the pork-barrel aspects, Congressional courtesy need not be too greatly strained. Charging a Senator or Representative with playing pork-barrel politics is not necessarily offensive, particularly if he's getting results for the home folks. Neither will it strain courtesy to dwell on ties between members of Congress and lobby outfits. Such connections are common among all factions in Congress.

The strain will come if the investigators go beyond the rivers and harbors lobby's reception room and look into the back offices. Back there will be found the Associated General Contractors and their suppliers, Purcell Smith and his plush utility lobby, oil interests, coal operators, big landowners, railroads whose immediate officers sometimes wonder why they're in the party at all, and a whole galaxy of state officials who are exempted from registration as lobbyists and consequently make excellent, independent-appearing mouthpieces for the lobby bill of goods.

Also, they will find direct connections with the insurance lobby (a big one, little publicized) and various large financial interests which are heavy investors in the utilities and other industries directly involved in resources development.

They will also find a whole maze of front organizations, each with a 24-karat, do-good-sounding name, such as the Pacific Northwest Development Association, Missouri Valley Development Association, Mississippi Valley Association, etc., which have vested-interest connections and interlocking directorates as confusing as the connections of the Morgan partners.

The kingpin outfit, the McClellan-Whittington-Wherry-Case Rivers & Harbors Congress, is modestly financed even though it claims position surpassing the wildest dreams of any Five Percenter.

Its outward appearance is for all the world like a modest but well-designed pork-barrel mechanism, capa-

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Benton J. Stong is chairman of the Regional Committee for a Missouri Valley Authority and a legislative representative of the National Farmers' Union.

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ble of rolling your community's pet project right through into the lap of the US Treasury.

When the invitations went out for the last annual meeting of the NR&HC, they appeared to come straight from the US Senate Committee on Public Works. The letter was signed by John McClellan, but as president of the NR&HC instead of US Senator. There was enclosed a most appealing reply postcard on which to indicate whether or not you could attend the big annual meeting. In addition to other spaces there was one, requiring only an "X," which said, "Send Project Application." If the person invited wanted some pet project built by Uncle Sam in his community, there was his chance to start the barrel rolling! He could apply *to the National Rivers & Harbors Congress' Projects Committee*, headed by Representative Sid Simpson of Illinois, to have the government build the project at taxpayers' expense!

Another enclosure explained many things, including how the Projects Committee helps shape up project data and then gets appropriations or allocations of funds therefor from Congress.

It is made clear that the organization's officers are Very Important Persons in Congress, especially in committees where it counts. Rivers-and-harbors projects must first get an authorization through the public-works committees of the two Houses. Thereafter, they must get their funds annually through the appropriations committees.

Where the Money Goes

Here is a glimpse at the lobby funds planned to be spent by a single utility, in one year, as contained in a 1949 budget filed with the Oregon Public Utilities Commission by the Pacific Gas & Electric Company:

Oregon Business & Tax Research	$3,600
National Tax Equality Ass'n. (anti-coöperative)	500
US Chamber of Commerce	1,000
Affiliated Tax Council, Portland	1,800
National Association of Manufacturers	1,600
Tax Foundation, Inc.	200
Pacific Northwest Development Ass'n. (anti-CVA)	2,500
Tax Foundation, New York	200
National Ass'n. of Electric Companies, Washington	3,000
Committee for Economic Development	500
Edison Electric Institute	3,617
Northwest Electric Light & Power Ass'n., Portland	1,000
Business Advisory Council	625
Portland Chamber of Commerce	6,700
National Rivers & Harbors Congress	200
Greater Portland Management Club	250
Columbia Empire Industries	400
Portland Labor Management Committee	400
Funds to Combat Public Power	10,000
Total	$38,092

The NR&HC literature made it clear that:

¶ President McClellan is the ranking Democrat on the Senate Public Works Committee.

¶ V.P. Whittington is chairman of the House Public Works Committee.

¶ V.P. Wherry, Republican leader in the Senate, is a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

¶ V.P. Case is a member of the House Appropriations Committee.

Just in case some skeptical person may still doubt that this private outfit is the best place to apply for federal pork, the literature further explains:

> The [Rivers & Harbors] Congress is the country's oldest and largest water organization and *occupies semi-official status* by reason of its close liaison with the governmental agencies, legislative and executive, responsible for public works. . . .
>
> It acts in advisory capacity to the United States Congress and the governmental agencies. . . .

How a Five Percenter would like to be able to brag like that! The NR&HC goes on:

> All members of the Senate and House of Representatives are honorary members of the Rivers & Harbors Congress. . . . The officers of the Corps of Engineers of the U. S. Army engaged in rivers and harbors work are likewise ex-officio members of the Congress.

At its April meeting the NR&HC okayed $665,700,000 worth of projects for immediate construction, put five more on its "meritorious" list for further consideration and asked for expeditious survey reports on eleven others.

At this pork-barrel level, Herbert Hoover and his reorganizers of the executive branch of the government are ready to fight. They want to eliminate the administrative playmates of the NR&HC—the Corps of Army Engineers—from the field of public works, ending the project-by-project approach which lends itself easily to the barrel rollers and results in wasteful competition between agencies, overbuilding and unwise building. They would put all such construction work in the Interior Department, with a Review Board at the White House to test the soundness of every proposal made.

The conservative group is not concerned, however, about the policy objectives of the Rivers & Harbors Congress which really make it the darling of the back-room boys.

Besides drawing up the $665,700,000 pork-barrel list, the last annual meeting of the NR&HC:

¶ Opposed valley authorities.

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¶ Opposed any federal steam plants or transmission lines.

¶ Opposed federal control of off-shore oil lands.

¶ Whooped it up for more public-works assignments to the Army Engineers.

¶ Requested continued subsidies for the merchant marine.

Ties between the vested-interest groups and the McClellan-Whittington-Wherry-Case organizations should not be difficult for lobby investigators to trace. For example:

Contractors, who do all the Army's actual construction work, and Representative Will Whittington have a joint office in the Peabody Hotel in Memphis for the contractors' "Flood Control Branch" and Whittington's Mississippi Valley Flood Control Association. The two organizations are both run by one man—a retired Army Engineer. The regional director of the NR&HC for the Missouri basin is John Quinn, who once admitted that his Missouri River Development Association at Lincoln, Nebraska, was put into business with money contributed by contractors.

The power companies, which want to defeat all valley authorities, federal transmission lines or steam-generating plants, interlock with the NR&HC in many known ways. For instance, the Regional Director of the NR&HC for the Pacific Northwest (the Columbia Valley) is E. W. Rising, who has also acted as a representative of the Pacific Northwest Development Association. This latter outfit has received $36,815 from seven power companies (1945 to 1948), according to data in the *Congressional Record*. The NR&HC and Reclamation Associations have many of the same members and at least one common officer—a Colorado state official. Reclamation Associations take power-company money. The Washington (state) Reclamation Association got $6,650 of its $9,536 budget from power companies and railroads in 1948. The Montana Reclamation Association got $1,200 of a $3,955 budget from the same sources the same year. The Idaho Reclamation Association got $1,000 from the Washington Water Power Company in 1947.

Reasons for other groups to work with the rivers and harbors lobby are obvious. Oil interests want to get offshore oil lands out of the federal control. Coal operators want electricity generated with coal—not falling water. Eastern financial interests are more interested in electric-utility profits than they are in the little competition which unreliable navigation channels will give to their railroads. (A table in the *Congressional Record* shows that we paid $2,097 million *more* for electricity in 1948 than it would have cost if billed at TVA-Tupelo rates.) Large landholders back the rivers and harbors lobby in hope of getting the Army Engineers into control of enough irrigation projects to break down the 160-acre limit on amount of land which may be irrigated by one owner from federal Bureau of Reclamation reservoirs.

A fight to oust the Army Engineers from their pork-barrel fortress is now certain to be a major future battle. The formidable conservative-liberal lineup guarantees that much. But behind the pork barrel there lies the ominous fact of a lobby which has its roots in Congress itself.

LOYALTY TESTS FOR TEACHERS

by Jean Begeman

As public schools and colleges begin the fall semester this month, thousands of teachers, in 26 states plus Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia, are being required to take an oath of allegiance or otherwise satisfy the employing agencies that they are loyal to the Government of the United States. This extension of anti-Communist agitation into the sphere of education has caused deep concern to many, who fear that such measures, by threatening to impair the tradition of academic freedom, entail greater risks than those they are intended to meet.

Prying into political beliefs of teachers is not a new trend, although it is a rapidly increasing one. In 1915 charges of "socialism" figured in a celebrated controversy over the removal of Scott Nearing from the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, and two years later, in a similar controversy over expulsion of several members of Columbia University's faculty. This period also saw the enactment of New York's drastic Lusk Laws, repealed in 1923, which required teachers to obtain certificates of loyalty, provided for removal of teachers "for the utterance of any treasonable or seditious act," and prohibited the employment of teachers who had criticized the United States Government. In the 1930's, the depression gave rise to fresh charges of radicalism in education, and 10 states imposed oath requirements on teachers. Since World War II new laws have been enacted and existing ones tightened

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against "subversive activities" by public-school teachers.

The contents of state-prescribed teachers' oaths vary considerably. The simplest form, used in half a dozen states, is merely a pledge to support the Constitution of the United States and of the particular state. California and some other states exact a pledge "to teach by precept and example" undivided allegiance to this government. The Georgia law (1930) goes farther by requiring teachers to swear that they would refrain from "subscribing to or teaching any theory of government, economics or social relations which is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of patriotism and high ideals of Americanism." Last February the Georgia law was revised to require every person on any public payroll to take an oath stating "that I am not a member of the Communist Party and that I have no sympathy for the doctrines of Communism and will not lend my aid, my support, my advice, my counsel nor my influence to the Communist Party or to the teachings of Communism."

The words "Communist" or "Communist Party" are found also in Arkansas, Maryland, Oklahoma and Texas statutes. (Legislation in Texas, approved last March, directs the presidents of state-supported colleges to dismiss any teacher *or* student found to be a Communist.) In addition to Georgia and Maryland, the states of New Jersey, New York and New Hampshire have enacted legislation this year requiring investigation of the membership of public employees in "subversive" organizations. (Maryland's "Sedition and Subversive Activities" Act was recently declared unconstitutional, but an appeal is pending in the courts.)

By far the most stringent law on the statute books today is the Feinberg Act in New York State, signed by Governor Dewey on April 1. Aimed at purging the school system of Communist teachers and "fellow travelers," the Act directs the Board of Regents to compile a list of subversive organizations and draw up regulations making membership in a listed organization cause for dismissal of a teacher. The Regents must either use the Attorney General's list of such groups, or compile its own. The law has been the subject of bitter controversy, especially in New York City, where its effect will presumably be felt to the greatest degree. Several left-wing educational and civic groups have opposed the Feinberg Act and have joined in a fight for its repeal. The CIO Teachers' Union has authorized Lee Pressman as its attorney to initiate a suit challenging the constitutionality of the law. The Communist Party obtained a court order temporarily restraining the Board of Regents from further action. However, the Board has gone ahead. It has issued instructions to local school officials, who have been directed to investigate possible subversive activities by employees, to conduct hearings in cases where charges of such activities are made, and to file with the Education Department annual reports on what has been done under the law. It is hardly necessary to point out what magnificent opportunities are here offered for backbiting, gossip and revenge on one's personal enemies.

Establishing rules and regulations regarding loyalty has brought fear and confusion to the ranks of teachers throughout the country. Many educators, concerned with academic freedom, have asked whether the danger of subversive activity by teachers is sufficiently real to warrant singling them out as a group and requiring them to take special loyalty oaths. Are loyalty oaths, in any case, an effective deterrent to Communists? If bans of this sort are imposed, might they not be used as cloaks for disciplining teachers who express, not subversive but merely unconventional or unpopular opinions? This last point is strongly emphasized. Many people are deeply troubled about the idea of having the rising generation taught by individuals who are secretly members of an organization which repudiates most of the political ideas and ideals now current in this country. It is pointed out, however, that since membership is in so many cases secret, the weight of laws of this character is quite likely to be brought down upon an entirely different group—those who hold radical views of various sorts but are not members of any subversive organization, and are not actually sympathetic to the views of such organizations.

All the excitement of the past few years, all the hearings, investigations and publicity releases, have turned up only a handful of Communist college professors, even though membership in the party has been perfectly legal up to now. (The National Education Association has reported only one case in the public schools: a substitute kindergarten teacher in Baltimore was dismissed after it was learned that she was a member of the Communist Party.) Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, noted chancellor of the University of Chicago, has vigorously denounced the restrictions being placed on the teaching profession. "If we apply any other test than competence in determining the qualifications of teachers," he said recently, "we shall find that pressures and prejudice will determine them. . . . Teachers may be expected to obey the law of the land. But it is still permissible, I hope, to ask whether a law is wise. To discriminate against teachers—to act as though they were all disloyal—and to put them under special legal disabilities seems injudicious if we want able, independent men to go into the teaching profession."

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *The Russian A-Bomb*

AGAIN PRESIDENT TRUMAN was at his sensible best when he announced that Russia had the atom bomb. From the beginning, American scientists and the military had warned that it would be only a matter of time before Russian scientists picked up the trail that we had already blazed here, with the help of Canadian, British and other foreign experts. Among these experts, it is interesting to note, was Dr. Lise Meitner, a scientist who had managed to escape from Hitler's persecution in Germany.

Aware that, in time, Russia would have the bomb, Americans were able to accept the news of its acquisition with the composure and *sang-froid* that are their well-known characteristics, in contrast with those of more volatile people such as the British, the Canadians and the Dutch. Our poise was amply demonstrated by a geyserlike eruption in the newspapers and over the air of uncountable millions of words. Newspapers and commentators excitedly shrilled news that should not have been startling, since the event had been repetitiously predicted. Our statesmen and leaders of public opinion embraced every opportunity to rush into print with mock-heroic or agitated comments, to let the Kremlin know that the long expected news was not the occasion here of alarm or even of concern. Who would expect a member of Congress to refrain from crowding into the limelight when any opportunity for notoriety offered, even if his speaking part consisted only of the adolescent defiance, "Who's scared?"

Among others, David E. Lilienthal, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, burst onto the front page. And yet Lilienthal, as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, is not charged with any responsibility in respect to international policies. Truman might well tell him that he, the President, with the aid of the Department of State, is running our foreign affairs and that when it comes to military policies, he also has experts to fall back upon. It was not for Lilienthal to call for a race with Russia to see which nation could accumulate at greater speed a larger stockpile of death-dealing bombs.

It would be a brave President who would suggest that Congressmen leave to him the conduct of foreign affairs. However, at the very least, Truman, who fortunately has not yielded to the prevalent hysteria, might properly call in the publicity seekers of the Administration and tell them that he is still running our international affairs. Certainly, if we are to start another armaments race with Russia, it might be thought that the announcement should properly be made by the President and not by a subordinate, even one in the important post of chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. On the famous theory put forward by President Theodore Roosevelt, of "Speak softly but carry a big stick," it might be that Truman, even if he felt that we should step up our production of bombs, would think it wise not to be clamorous about it.

I continue to believe that unless threatened by a present danger, quiet confidence in our own strength and peaceful purposes will make a greater impression than our "who's scared?" attitude. Self-reliantly, we should continue to prepare against any possible contingency. Of course, human nature being what it is, we have to make some allowance for such a case as that of Senator Dulles, who, despite his sixty-one years and his reputed sober wisdom, is trying to frighten the voters of New York into voting for him for Senator as against former Governor Lehman, by crying "Communist." As if any sophisticated New York voter is likely to be persuaded that Governor Lehman is a candidate of the Kremlin! Of all people, Senator Dulles might have been expected to scorn public office if he had to gain it by such smearing tactics.

Nor are Lilienthal and Dulles our only "nervous Nellies" who seem bent on proving to the Kremlin that in the war of nerves we continue to walk the tightrope of hysteria. Even Senator Taft, despite his high political IQ, takes occasion to urge that we grasp in friendship the blood-dripping hand of Franco. Others engage in a fruitless argument as to whether or not Russia solved the bomb secret two years ago. What boots it whether it was two years, or two days, ago? The fact that has to be faced, resolutely but calmly, is that Russia now seems to have neutralized the advantage that we formerly had in the bomb. Representative Velde (R, Ill.) contributes his toad to the witches' brew of hysteria by charging intemperately that "The Russians . . . gained two to five years in producing the atomic bomb . . . because the Federal Government has been infiltrated by a network of spies." Proof? Why should an agitated Congressman produce evidence?

I suggest that we keep our powder dry and our feet firmly on the ground while preparing for any eventuality. In the meantime, it would do no harm to pitch in and work as vigorously and intelligently for universal disarmament and peace as we have done in preparing for war.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

SEX, CENSORSHIP AND SUPERMAN

by Malcolm Cowley

NOT LONG AGO a number of authors and editors received a red-paper-bound copy of a 100-page book, *Love & Death*, described on the title page as "A Study in Censorship, by G. Legman." Although it was privately printed and came in an envelope without a return address, some of its readers were sufficiently interested to make a search for the author and listen to his story.

LOVE & DEATH: A Study in Censorship, by G. Legman (Breaking Point, 858 Hornaday Place, New York 60; $1).

G. (for Gershon) Legman is a small, round, excitable man and a jack of many trades; at present he is the editor of a small quarterly, *Neurotica*, besides being a bibliographer, an author of detective stories and a house painter—"Like Hitler," he says with a grin. He has been writing and revising *Love & Death* for the last seven years and has submitted the manuscript to some fifty publishers, including at least one for every letter of the alphabet. "It was hard to find an 'X,'" he says, "but I finally managed to get a rejection from the Xavier Guild of Free Books for the Blind." That completed his abecedarium, which runs from Appleton-Century to Ziff-Davis.

Four years ago the manuscript had been accepted and marked for the printer when the publisher asked him to omit one word on the ground of indecency. Legman withdrew the book instead. Another publisher accepted it after reading two chapters which had been printed in *Neuroticq*. When the book was already in type he read the two final chapters and objected, quite justifiably, to Legman's attack on Hemingway. The author lost this second chance for publication by again refusing to modify his statements. He made his only concession to the proprieties by submitting the manuscript to a law firm specializing in defense against libel suits; the firm recommended a few changes, which he made before printing the book at his own expense. So far it has been sold by word-of-mouth advertising. A first edition of 2,000 copies had been exhausted by the formal publication date, September 12, and Legman had ordered 5,000 more from the printer.

The argument of *Love & Death* is that censorship laws are exerting a dangerously immoral effect on American popular literature. Forbidden to describe the act of sex, authors have been seeking an equally thrilling substitute. They have found that the only substitute complete in itself is sadism in its various literary forms. The result can be traced in our popular writing. From comic books through detective stories and historical romances (with "bitch heroines") up to novels that are regarded as modern classics, it has become a carnival of violence, torture and death. There is only one main current in our literature: deathward. Sex, the opposite of death, may or may not save us; but Legman thinks that the experiment of abolishing our censorship laws would at least be worth trying.

Legman is the sort of critic who likes to ride his argument over fences and into the ground. In making a case against Hemingway, for example, he uses conflicting arguments: if the heroine dies in *A Farewell to Arms*, that is because the author hates women; but if it is the hero who dies in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, that is also because the author hates women and wants to punish the heroine by making her live alone. In his preoccupation with sex, Legman misses the social parables to be found in both novels. He is often blind to social meanings; indeed, he seems to imply that sex and its substitute, death, are the only valid themes for literature.

Is our popular literature really lacking in sex? I haven't followed the comic books since my son stopped reading them, but I have plowed my way through dozens of the current novels without finding a deficiency in bedroom scenes. I found, however, that many characters complained about the coldness of American women, and their complaints seemed to reflect unwittingly on American men as lovers. The novels contained their full share of violence, sometimes—by no means always—with overtones of sadism or masochism. If Legman is right and sadism is present as compensation for the lack of honest sex, then the lack is in American life much more than in American fiction. Merely changing the censorship laws wouldn't put an end to sexual frustration.

Fortunately for Legman the interest and—if it isn't too big a word—the importance of his little book do not depend on the central argument. He is best in his incidental observations. He studies popular literature much as the "new critics" study Yeats and Eliot, with the same sharp eye for symbols and configurations. I was impressed by a group of statements that he makes about the detective story as a standard form. He says, first, that the mystery element is essentially unimportant; second, that the murderer is the real victim, to be hounded to death; third, that the function of the original crime is to put the murderer outside the pale of humanity and thereby justify his fate; fourth, that the detective, with whom the reader identifies himself, is an extra-legal avenger; fifth, that the usual end of the story is a sort of lynching, with the murderer forced to commit suicide instead of being allowed to stand trial. Having discov-

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ered the formula for detective stories, Legman wrote ten of them under pseudonyms. One was *The Case of the Beaten Bride*—"Straight sadism," he explains. Another, still seeking a publisher, is *The Poisoned Enema.*

Of the four long chapters in *Love & Death*, the most impressive is the one that deals with comic books. Legman finds that the secret of their appeal to children is simply violence in stronger and stronger doses. "With rare exceptions," he says, "every child in America who was six years old in 1938 has by now absorbed an absolute minimum of 18,000 pictorial beatings, shootings, stranglings, blood-puddles and torturings-to-death from comic (ha-ha) books alone, identifying himself—unless he is a complete masochist —with the heroic beater, shooter, strangler, blood-letter and/or torturer." In reading the scores of comic-book series that follow the Superman formula, the child is likely to make a still more dangerous identification:

> Instead of being brave and fearless [Legman says] Superman lives really in a continuous guilty terror, projecting outward in every direction his readers' paranoid hostility. Every city in America is in the grip of fiends. Every mayor, Governor, Senator, President—even a district attorney or two—is totally corrupt and/or in cahoots with spies. Every country in the world is about to attack us—with our own bombs. . . . Only the Nazi-Nietzschean *Uebermensch*, in his provincial apotheosis as Superman, can save us. . . . In the ten-year effort to keep supplying sinister victims for Supermen to destroy, comic books have succeeded in giving every American child a complete course in paranoid megalomania such as no German child ever had, a total conviction of the morality of force such as no Nazi could even aspire to.

There is more about Superman (*alias* Batman, Blackhawk, Black Hood, Black Knight, Black Terror, Captain America, Captain Marvel, etc.) and it is all overwritten in the same explosive style, halfway between Drew Pearson and the Prophet Jeremiah. Style apart, Legman has a message about the comic books and it is more disturbing than his general theme about sex and censorship. He is saying in effect that the paranoia of the Superman comics helps to explain the paranoia of the present loyalty crusade. He is also saying—and long before the two Peekskill riots—that the teen-agers who stoned automobiles leaving the Robeson concerts were picturing themselves as the heroic incarnations of Blackhawk and Captain Marvel, crusading against, beating, maiming and lynching the inhuman foes of America in peril.

THE ROAD FROM ROME

THE VATICAN IN WORLD POLITICS, by Avro Manhattan (Gaer Associates; $3.75).

AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER, by Paul Blanshard (The Beacon Press; $3.50).

ALTHOUGH both Avro Manhattan and Paul Blanshard are concerned with the Roman Catholic Church as a political power rather than as the exponent of a religious faith, the line of demarcation runs thin. Each author finds himself stumped by the impossibility of separating the spiritual from the physical and temporal goals of "the true Church," which, as Manhattan puts it, are threefold: destruction of Communism and Soviet Russia; spiritual conquest of the United States; and Catholicization of the world.

Both books, written with careful objectivity—a patently honest attempt to break through a hush-hush smoke screen and shed the light of history on the worldwide operations of the most powerful and militant religious organization—will be branded "anti-Catholic" by the faithful. The Catholic Church permits no questions.

In discussing the Vatican's role in world politics during the past fifty years, Manhattan describes the machinery of the Papal State through its various congregations, tribunals and medieval hierarchical-administrative religious structure from the sixteenth century onward. In Italy, between the two world wars, Pope Pius XI hailed Mussolini as "a man sent by Divine Providence" and endorsed Fascism as a buffer against the Socialism and Bolshevism installed by the Russian Revolution of 1917. In Spain, the Church chose (and still chooses) Franco; in Germany, Hitler; in France, Pétain and Laval; in Austria, Dollfuss and Schuschnigg; and in each instance the Vatican was trading for establishment of the Church above the State, control of the schools, dictation of family life and defeat of the "Red Dragon of Communism."

Manhattan points to the Vatican's responsibility in selling out Austria to Germany in the *Anschluss*, inducing Belgium to surrender rather than fight Hitler, and winking at anti-Semitism. When Nazism was riding high, it was never condemned by the Catholic Church and the Vatican was conspicuously silent at the time of Hitler's most brutal persecutions and butcheries. A month after Germany's defeat, Pius XII, who had meanwhile swung over to the Allies (despite the awkward fact that Russia was a major one), declared it "a good thing" that "Satanic Nazism" had been crushed.

Lest the American reader regard his analysis as of remote it-can't-happen-here interest, Manhattan outlines Rome's pattern for the US, which, with slight modulations in deference to the more rarefied air of liberty in this country, is the mixture as before.

The United States, he says, is the key to the Vatican's policy "to transform the Americas into a solid Catholic continent to counterbalance the already half-lost continent of Europe." Its campaign presumes an American alliance against world Communism, lulling American Protestant opposition by use of the Communist spectre as "a common enemy," intense Americanization of Catholicism, and unobtrusive efforts to modify the United States' political structure to give the Church a privileged status.

Gains resulting chiefly from immigration in 1881, and stepped up since World War I, had by 1945 assured the Catholic Church in this country of control of 11,075 educational establishments giving Catholic instruction to 3,205,804 young people. Since 1790, the Church has increased its American membership from 30,000 to

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more than 24 million. Direction of its US activity is in the hands of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, a powerful, disciplined, nation-wide organization.

Manhattan sees it difficult for a predominantly Protestant country like the United States to keep free of Vatican influence, since President Roosevelt in December, 1939, by-passed Congress by sending Myron Taylor as his "personal envoy" to the Pope, a mission that has every evidence of permanency. Films, the stage, the press, publishing are used to full advantage in the over-all plan of propagating and protecting Catholicism here. One of the great moves in the Church's ambition to convert America, says Manhattan, is to win the American Negro.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy's most recent and determined plan, according to the book, is to revise the First Amendment to the Constitution and to write off as "a misleading metaphor" Jefferson's sentence on "the wall of separation between Church and State." One recalls the stand taken by Alfred E. Smith, a devout Catholic whose faith many think cost him the 1929 Presidential election.

"I recognize no power in the institution of my Church to interfere with the operation of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land," said Smith. "I believe in absolute freedom of conscience for all men and equality of all Churches . . . in the absolute separation of Church and State."

In 306 pages, supported by a bibliography of 94 sources and 30 printed pages of documented notes, Paul Blanshard discusses with calm frankness the Roman Catholic hierarchy as an aggressive foreign political force encroaching on the well-established principles of American freedom in education and science and operating as a pressure group on merchants, publishers, politicians or motion-picture producers who defy it.

As Catholics in the United States believe in the same fundamental ideals of democracy as other Americans, Blanshard feels that "the Catholic problem" would soon disappear if they had any choice of representatives either in this country or in the high command at Rome. Moreover, he declares, the time has long since arrived when Americans should feel free to speak out on a subject without fear of reprisal or the charge of bigotry, especially when an abuse of power in attempting to control a people's judgment involves our culture and citizenship. Through its "controversial policy" Blanshard sees the Church as "a state within a state and a state above a state."

In Blanshard's eyes the two roads to domination of this country by "the true Church" are the "increase of the Catholic minority to a majority in the population and the capture of the public school system." For America, he says, the warning example is the bungling Canadian compromise which failed to separate Church and State and supports religious schools. "A nation that compromises with the Catholic hierarchy on the control and support of common schools is doomed to be either a clerical State or a house divided."

He allows the Catholic hierarchy to speak for itself wherever possible, drawing from a variety of authoritative sources, not the least of which are papal encyclicals. In the process, he acquaints the reader with the autocratic and disciplinarian machinery originating with the Vatican, the relationship of the Church to the State in law and medicine, sex, birth control, eugenics, marriage, divorce, annulment, censorship, scholarship, Fascism, Communism and labor.

No better substantiation of Blanshard's chapter on the Catholic Church's attitude toward the American public-school system can be found than the recent unwarranted and ill-tempered attack by Cardinal Spellman on Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt for her "anti-Catholic" views in opposing aid from federal or other tax funds for parochial schools. Blanshard might say that the Associated Press-reported statement from Pope Pius that the "controversy had been satisfactorily resolved" is further indication of the Vatican's disposition to meddle in domestic affairs.

The "Catholic plan for America," says the author, is no different from its plan for the world. Its realization, he says, depends upon the hierarchy's success in increasing the Catholic population, expanding Catholic schools with the aid of public funds "and by infiltrating and penetrating non-Catholic organizations with faithful Catholic laymen who will act as soldiers and missionaries for the Church."

RUSSELL RHODES

Russell Rhodes is drama and movie critic for the New York Journal of Commerce.

EDITORS LIKE GODS

THE BIG WHEEL, by John Brooks (Harpers; $2.75).

BY NOW everyone must know that *The Big Wheel* is concerned with a momentous turn of events on a successful national newsmagazine called *Present Day*, a legally euphemistic disguise. The novelist, as reporter, describes the weekly life and death cycle of "story ideas" as sharply and succinctly as it has ever been done in fact or fiction. To those fortunate hermits still unfamiliar with the verities of magazine publishing, the story conferences in *The Big Wheel* may seem like Swiftian satire, but that is scarcely how they will strike the author's *Time-Life* fellow alumni.

The Big Wheel's story, and it's a fascinating one, concerns the apprenticeship on *Present Day* of Dick Peters, the narrator, who has been hired by his cousin, Ed Masterson, the magazine's omnipotent editor. The son of wealth, a reformed radical, Masterson believes in himself, in *Present Day*, and in what he and it have to say. That his well-paid writers should also believe what they write seems only honest and fair to Masterson. When one of them, Katzman, recommends a story and then, parenthetically, remarks that he personally thinks it "stinks to the skies," he is summarily fired. Other writers, including Peters, sign a vigorous protest, threatening to resign if Katzman goes.

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The consequences of this revolt shake the faith that has enabled Masterson to run *Present Day* without cynicism and without challenge. What then happens to Masterson is believable. The compromise peace Peters makes with the magazine and, one assumes, with his own conscience is so much less convincing that it becomes apparent for the first time that Masterson is the book's real hero.

There are minor defects in *The Big Wheel*. The liberal college professor whom Peters consults before going to work for *Present Day* borders on a caricature. The letter from the Board of Directors to Masterson about the Katzman case is definitely off-key. The women, as such, are no more plausible than they are in the novels of other gifted new writers like Merle Miller or Budd Schulberg.

Almost in spite of its brisk, first-person style and crisp dialogue, *The Big Wheel* achieves stature. It does that not merely because Brooks deals with an idea and theme important for this generation, but because, not content just to make the reader think about the subject, he has thought about it himself. The fact that he offers no satisfactory conclusion increases one's belief in the story and in the author's maturity. RICHARD LAUTERBACH

THEATRE: Yesterday's Matinees

DID YOU KNOW that "goddam" was uttered for the first time on the New York stage in a play by Clyde Fitch in 1909? That Owen Davis, whose "Icebound" won the Pulitzer Prize in 1923, wrote two hundred Bowery-style melodramas, including one called "Edna, the Pretty Typewriter"? That a musical named "Very Good Eddie" was so popular in 1915 that two companies played it simultaneously on the same block on 39th Street? That the Theatre Guild's first hit, "John Ferguson," was put on in 1919 for less than a thousand dollars? That on the evening of December 26, 1927, eleven plays opened on Broadway? That the total of 225 productions in New York during the season of 1928-29 was reduced by a hundred in 1934-35?

These facts and many more are strewn helter-skelter through Ward Morehouse's *Matinee Tomorrow* (Whittlesey House; $5), an informal account of the American theatre from 1898 through 1949. The book's assortment of reminiscences, anecdotes, gossip, statistics and illustrations seem wrapped in a shroud of nostalgia.

The last statement may be merely a personal reaction. Morehouse tells his story with confidence and relish. The past is a very living thing to him. He reports the theatre's decline without a tremor of regret or dismay. He anticipates tomorrow's matinees with the same ingenuous excitement he must have felt when he first became fascinated with show business.

I was taken to the theatre as a little boy in 1907 pretty much as kids today are taken to the movies. By 1913 I began to visit the neighborhood stock companies in the Bronx all by myself (there were four within walking distance of my home) and saw many of the old plays that Morehouse mentions: "The Wolf," "The City," "Fine Feathers," "The Melting Pot," "The Witching Hour." By 1917 I was a regular Broadway playgoer and an avid student of theatrical lore. That is why Morehouse's book appeals to me more than it may to the reader whose theatregoing days did not begin till after 1929. Yet I could not help thinking as I put this chronicle down, "Where has it all gone? What remains of all the talent, effort, ambition, love, that went into those fifty years of theatre?"

The theatre's ephemeral nature is supposed to be part of its glamor; I am not clamoring for the shows of yesteryear. Odets, Miller, Williams are better playwrights than Augustus Thomas and Clyde Fitch; it is equally undeniable that our scene designers

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NEW REPUBLIC

have a more refined sense of the theatre than those who turned out the sets in the days of Belasco, Brady and Woods. But it seems that more should have remained from the past fifty years of theatre than a few good plays and some sweet memories.

Morehouse's book indirectly reveals the reason for the huge waste of talent in our theatre. We proceed wholly from the accident of talent itself—from activity, energy, the brute power of movement for their own sake. Our theatre has no social aim, no broad human motivation, no moral foundation. We do not try to build anything except the individual's success and renown. We are interested in "personalities" as in a brilliant display of fireworks—wondrous and momentary. We like to marvel, not to learn. Every day in the American theatre is an entirely new day. It seems to take nothing from yesterday and leave nothing for tomorrow. Our effort—always amazing in vitality and potentiality—mounts to hodgepodge. We are entranced by the myriad aspects of the theatre; we do not conceive it as a whole. We prefer the dazzle of surface color to a knowledge of organic structure. Thus our critics as well as our artists are rarely interested in principles or basic conclusions, in arriving at methods of work or instruction that will be valid for the future.

We are amused by opinions, frightened by convictions. We believe it proper to have tastes, unseemly to foster passion. We will announce what we "think" if it is understood beforehand that our "thoughts" are not to be considered binding. No one wants to teach because it looks more like impotent preaching than lustrous practice. There is a universal horror of being "wrong." Above all we insist on remaining "private" in thought and behavior—responsible to no one but ourselves. But people who are committed to nothing but themselves soon become vacant, empty. Thus we begin with greatness and end in gorgeous nullity.

Some day we may learn that mountains of separate geniuses don't add up to a culture. If France has its Comédie Française, Russia its Moscow Art Theatre, and Germany—even now—a host of remarkable state and city theatres, it is not because these people are cleverer or more gifted than we, but because they are concerned with the force of constellations rather than with the twinkling of stars.

HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR: Theatrical Life

"THEATRE GUILD ON THE AIR" is now NBC's pride and joy on the Sunday-evening radio schedule. "Guild" holds down the anchor spot, the hour from 8:30 to 9:30. During that period, Hooper-hungry NBC has to compete against an assortment of comics on CBS and the ABC network's powerful point-grabbing combination of an hour of "Stop the Music" followed by the still invincible Walter Winchell. Only top drama could serve the remaining millions of listeners who care neither for charivari nor thrills. NBC hadn't far to go to find the best hour of regularly scheduled coast-to-coast drama. It was on ABC, under the Theatre Guild's imprimatur, with US Steel's fat backing. After considerable jockeying, the move was arranged, Steel and all.

After four years, "Theatre Guild" is not only "on the Air" but of it as well. It wasn't that way at the beginning. Lawrence Langner and Theresa Helburn—co-directors of the stage organization—seemed to think that if a radio listener wasn't bright enough to see the play unfold, that was just too bad. They were offering Drama and were willing to do no more than tolerate the intrusion of the microphone.

However, it did not take the Guild long to learn. Before the first season was half over, plays became more flexible; the best radio writers were hired for the adaptations and given

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greater freedom to work their own trade; time, space and mood were permitted to move about with that fluidity which is radio's chief advantage over the legitimate stage.

"Guild" has brought more mature drama to the air, on a regularly scheduled basis, than any other commercial program. Because of its prestige, it has found it possible to come extremely close to violating some of radio's most cherished taboos, the strict observance of which sometimes reduces sophisticated literature to hopscotch. It has done great plays and good ones, has used some of our best actors, and has made radio performers of them.

This last accomplishment is highly creditable. A great deal more teamwork is required for a good performance on the air than on the stage. In radio production, cues must be met with trigger precision, the acting must be modified, the voice modulated to the needs of sensitive electronic instruments which may be absorbing simultaneously not only the actor's passions but also the orchestra's plaint and the tintinnabulations of the sound-effects man. The man who holds down this delicate job of directing for "Guild" is Homer Fickett.

On the documentary side, little that will be produced over any network this season will be in a position to beat the record already established by NBC. The fact that the productions are the work of the United Nations radio division does not diminish the credit of the network which has broadcast them.

The UN series on NBC opened with a Norman Corwin hour entitled "Could Be." Corwin projected himself into the future, into "Year X," when a "peace blitz" is started by the United Nations. He set out to show that, using all the vast technological and scientific equipment we have *today*, peace "could happen if the nations of the world attacked common problems with the same vigor, determination and resources with which, from time to time, they have attacked each other."

Corwin is now the head of the UN's "special projects" radio division, which includes the NBC series, and he wrote, directed and produced the opener. Utopian as he conceded his subject matter to be, he made it real by the combination of a poet's imagination, a realist's understanding of today's world and a craftsman's knowledge of every trick of radio production.

As head of the project, he must share at least some of the blame for the fact that the second program did not quite compare with the première. The writing, on its own level, was excellent. The script was by Millard Lampell, who, with Corwin and a small handful of others, ranks at the top of radio's writing roster. Lampell wrote no dream of the future. He did an hour's documentary on the Palestine situation and gave powerful, dramatic proof of his thesis: "Better a thousand years of talk than one moment of murder." But between the script and what this listener heard on the air, there was a gap.

A small part of the fault lay in the casting. Henry Fonda, playing the lead, had to alternate between narrating and acting. Like Lee J. Cobb, whom Corwin used in a CBS documentary about the UN last July, Fonda showed that it might have been better to employ an experienced radio actor rather than a stage star. In both instances, the stars did well when they had to act; they sounded monotonous when narration was required.

But the show suffered most from Lampell's faults as director. Corwin manages to balance voices delicately against the orchestra and the planned racket of the sound engineers. On the Lampell program, the cast had to fight too often against music and sound.

As of this issue, there are three more NBC-UN programs to be broadcast. They are scheduled for Sundays, four to four-thirty. Dealing with such UN material as the work of the Economic Commission for Europe and the accomplishments of the International Refugee Organization, the importance of the subject matter is obvious. To me, the pleasure derived from listening is just as clear. SAUL CARSON

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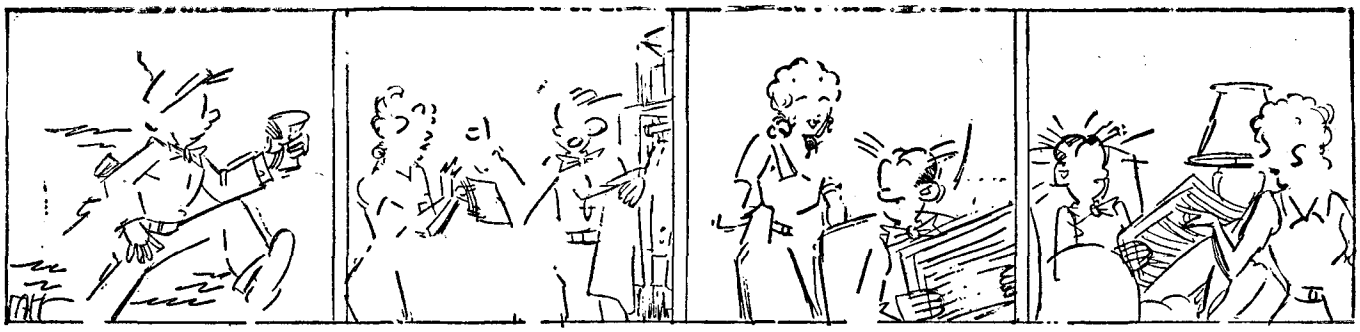
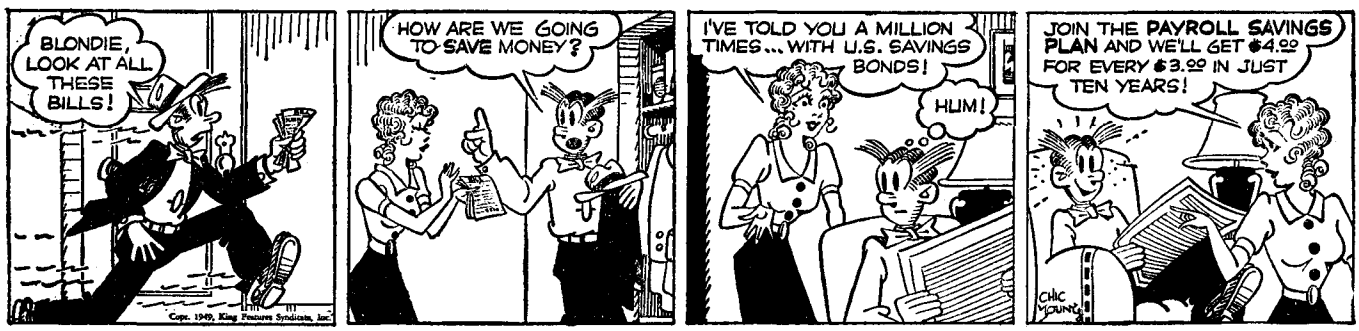


This is how Chic Young, the cartoonist, makes a first rough sketch for the famous strip.

BLONDIE, LOOK AT ALL THESE BILLS!
HOW NICE WE GOING TO SAVE MONEY?
I'VE TOLD YOU A MILLION TIMES... WITH U.S. SAVINGS BONDS!
HUM!
JOIN THE PAYROLL SAVINGS PLAN AND WE'LL GET $4.99 FOR EVERY $3.99 IN JUST TEN YEARS!

Then when each panel in a strip meets his approval, he makes a careful pencil rendering as above.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CHIC YOUNG

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